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PROGRESSIVE PARTY NOMINATES:

For Pres.: Vincent Hallinan
For Vice Pres.: Charlotta Bass

THE NAMES of Vincent Hallinan of California for President and Mrs. Charlotta Bass of New York for Vice-President were placed in nomination last week by the Candidates Committee set up by the National Committee of the Progressive Party on Jan. 20. The subcommittee, chaired by the Hon. Vito. Marcantonio of New York, included the top leadership of the Progressive Party. The nominations were the outcome of a six-week series of meetings and consultations with labor, farm, church and Negro leadership throughout the country. The names now go before the state organizations of the Progressive Party for ratification and official designation at a national convention set for July.

Mr. Hallinan, a noted football star and boxing champion in his college years at the University of San Francisco, is an outstanding West Coast attorney and presently counsel for Harry Bridges, longshore union leader whom the government has been seeking to deport for 18 years. His militant defense of Bridges earned him a contempt citation which is now before the U.S. Supreme Court.

BULLETIN

On Monday, March 10, three days after the announcement of Vincent Hallinan's candidacy, the Supreme Court rejected his appeal for a rehearing on contempt charges growing out of his defense of labor leader Harry Bridges. Hallinan now faces a six-month jail sentence. He will seek a stay in the California courts.

PRECEDENT IS SET: Mrs. Bass retired in 1950 after 30 years as publisher of the California **Eagle**, a leading Negro newspaper and the oldest weekly in the West. She is the first woman to be nominated for top office in the U.S. since the passage of the woman suffrage amendment in 1920. The only other woman nominee in American history was the noted feminist of the last century, Victoria Claflin Woodhull, who was the People's Party candidate for President in 1872.

The Candidates Committee statement proposed Mr. Hallinan and Mrs. Bass as peace candidates offering

> **new hope to an America sick and tired of the corruption, the militarism, the segregation and discrimination against the Negro people and the growing unemployment that has been brought about by both Democrats and Republicans.**

A POSITIVE POLICY: Voicing the Progressive Party view that a "Taft or Eisenhower in the Republican Party offers no change from a Truman or his hand-picked successor," the nominating statement continued:

> **Both old parties present the same old program—more wasteful arms, higher and higher taxes, higher prices, insecurity, less civil rights, war and the end of American freedom in a military state.**
>
> **We are confident that millions of American voters increasingly reject these twin policies of disaster, depression and inequality and seek a positive and peaceful alternative. They have registered their increasing independence of the two old parties. They have forced the Congress to defeat the plans of the militarists to put over UMT.**
>
> **They will now have a chance to vote for a positive policy for peace, equality and progress. The formal launching of the candidacies of Mr. Hallinan and Mrs. Bass is the first step in putting peace on the ballot in 1952. We will carry our fight to place our candidates on the ballot in every state in the union, so that every voter will have a chance to vote for peace, for security, for civil rights and for freedom.**

NEW JERSEY FILES: The First Progressive Party state organization to file petitions to place the Hallinan-Bass ticket on the ballot was New Jersey, where 1,500 signatures were filed Thursday night, Mar. 6, with the Secretary of State in Trenton by state chairman James Imbrie and state director Morton Bloom.

Next was Pennsylvania, with 11,000 petition signatures. All other state organizations were urged by the Candidates Committee, in accordance with its mandate from the PP National Committee, to undertake immediate steps for ratification of the nominations and getting on the ballot.

Most serious ballot fights will be in Illinois and Ohio where anti-third party laws have been tightened since 1948, when the Progressive Party was ruled off the ballot in Illinois and only its electors permitted listing in Ohio. Other important ballot fights loom in Massachusetts, Michigan and Florida.

Both of the Progressive Party's 1952 candidates were in New York when the choices were announced. An impromptu notification ceremony took place in Mrs. Bass' apartment at 62 W. 124th St., with Mr. and Mrs. Hallinan, chairman Marcantonio, PP secy. C. B. Baldwin, Paul Robeson and other members of the Candidates Committee present.

NO FADING HERE: Mrs. Bass accepted the nomination with the challenge that "I'm a peculiar animal: when I get into a campaign, I don't know how to stop!" Long a leader of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, Mrs. Bass had been a lifelong Republican until she broke away to support the Progressive Party in 1948.

Her acceptance fulfilled her statement in May, 1950, when she retired as editor and publisher of the **Eagle:**

> **After a rest I will be back and take up my place again in the never ending fight. I won't fade away. I have many plans, and one of the most important will be to assist with every ounce of my strength the building of that unity of Negro and white Americans without which our country cannot be safe and without which no one of us can be free.**

Mr. Hallinan and Mrs. Bass are old friends and have both been Progressive Party leaders since 1948. Mr. Hallinan, whose spectacular law career has often invited comparison with Perry Mason of detective fiction fame, is the son of Irish immigrants and himself the father of six sons ranging in age from three to 17. Son of a San Francisco cable-car conductor, he was educated in Catholic schools and served a hitch in the Navy in World War I before taking up law. He cast his first vote for Eugene Debs for President in 1920.

WAR & PEACE

Diary bolsters charge U.S. uses germ war

ON the eve of departure for his second sojourn this winter in Florida, where U.S. law cooperates in a terror against colored Americans, President Truman called on the peoples of China and East Europe to revolt for "freedom" under U.S. tutelage. Pleading for his eight-billion-dollar foreign aid program, he said its goal was to keep in U.S. hands the colonial world's raw materials and resources and speed "ultimate decay of the Soviet slave world." Averell Harriman (Report on Foreign Military Aid Program) seconded the plea: only U.S. tanks, weapons, officers and soldiers, he said, had saved Iran and its oil from revolution.

Congressional leaders of both parties promptly promised to cut the foreign aid program heavily. The N.Y. **World Telegram** (Mar. 7) said: "It's too much money;" the **Wall St. Journal** opposed "such an expansion" of the program (actual expenditures under new and old authorizations would be $10,500,000,000). N.Y. **Times** business editor John G. Forrest (Mar. 6) thought it "too great a burden for the economy."

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Hey! What about the fig leaf?"

MOSCOW DIARY: Election-year enthusiasm for economy was a minor embarrassment in a week of vexations. Publication of Pentagon-verified excerpts from the diary of Maj. Gen. Robert Grow, until January U.S. military attache in Moscow, lent startling substance to Soviet charges about Washington's intentions and the conduct of its diplomats. Grow's indiscreet daily jottings called for immediate war on the U.S.S.R. and chronicled his use of his embassy position to spy out bomb targets, for forwarding by diplomatic pouch. They had been excerpted in a book, **On the Road to War,** by Richard Squires, former British military officer now in East Germany, who said the diary was shown him by a U.S. officer who wanted it brought to public attention. (The Pentagon said it was photographed by Communist spies while Grow was in Frankfurt, West Germany, for a top-level intelligence conference.) Typical excerpts, all 1951:

> **Jan. 19: Pope [British agent] dropped by; he insisted we have not seen all positions. Quite right; but we have discovered four that he had not seen himself. . . .**
>
> **Jan. 27: The bridge here [at Rostov] is best target in S. Russia. This, together with bridge over Kuban R. at Kavkazskaya, would cut off all the Caucausus except for the poor line to Astrakan which could easily be cut.**
>
> **Feb. 5: We need a voice to lead us with-**

(Continued on Page 4)

RENEW HERE — AND NOW!

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THE MAIL BAG

"It is not right"

QUEENS, N. Y.

Last night my daughter came to me and announced that for her homework she had to write a letter to Congress on the current killings in Florida. Her class in public school had discussed it that day and the children had decided to tell Congress that something should be done about it. A little while later she presented the following for my approval.

Dear Congressman:

I am a little girl in the 5th grade in New York City and would like to tell you about an un-American group of people who go around killing Negroes. We are taught in school that it is not right to go around killing people. Would you please try to stop this group from killing people? I would like it very much if you did and so would a lot of other people.

Editing and punctuation for possible publication are mine; otherwise it's straight stuff and I'm right proud of my little chip off the old block-buster! Mother

Quite a stink!

RIO LINDA, CALIF.

In these strenuous times when our party politicians have got mink coats involved in the nation's government, it seems logical that the poor minks should be given a respite for awhile. Why not draft the skunks as the coat producing animal for a change?

It is obvious that the skunks will resist with all their vigor and create quite a stink to protect themselves. That offensive odor can be no worse than the terrible stench that is now being emitted from the graft, corruption and inefficiency at Washington.

Robert Scherlie

In defense of children

NEW YORK, N. Y.

On April 12 there will take place in Vienna an International Conference in Defense of Children, its purpose "to save the children, the most precious wealth of mankind," from the threat of war.

A U.S. committee has been set up for participation in this conference. One of its functions is to collect material concerning the welfare of American children. We would greatly appreciate GUARDIAN readers answering these questions:

1. In what way have war preparations and war talk affected the lives of your children and other children in your community?

2. Are there air raid drills in the schools in your community and if so, what form do they take, and what are their effects upon your children?

3. What is being done in your community to counteract any effects of these activities and promote the cause of peace among children?

Mrs. Agnes C. Doe, Exec. Dir., Room 401, 111 W. 42d St.

How crazy can you get dept.

Eugene C. Pulliam, pres. of Phoenix Newspapers, Inc., told an Arizona State College at Tempe student assembly Wednesday . . . MacArthur has the greatest mind of any living man. "Historians," he added, "will credit him, centuries from now, with introduction of life based on the Golden Rule."

Arizona Republic, Feb. 28.

Free one-year sub to sender of each item published under this heading. This week's winner (A. P. Ball, Tempe, Ariz.) writes: "Don't give me a sub—I'm already a subscriber. One has to have an antidote; this man Pulliam owns the only two papers in this valley, with a population of 300,000, so you can imagine the bilge that is dished up to us daily."

Lullabye

NEW YORK, N. Y.

This poem is dedicated to those psychologists who believe in "conditioning" children so they will be "adjusted" to their future environment.

Cut your teeth on shrapnel, child
Suck nitroglycerine from nipples
Nap on barbed wire
Weep on blood
Feed on noxious gas
Breakfast on mud
Count on your fingers
The years of your life
Wiggle your toes
Death will be your wife.

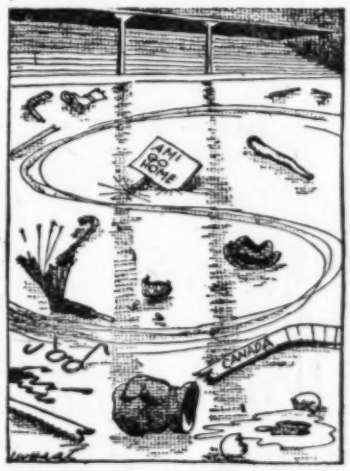
Ruth Fagan

Ice cold war

PRAGUE, CSR

Theater and movie tickets were a drug on the market here as February neared its end. Everyone was sitting at his radio listening to the Olympic hockey games. The Czechs are a very athletic people, as anyone who has agreed to "go around the corner" to some place with a Czech can testify. They are very proud of their hockey team (third team really: their best team fell in the English Channel in a plane crash; most of the second team was jailed after getting involved in a deal) and were pleased at the praise for good sportsmanship the team got in the Scandinavian press.

The same papers and the Swiss press, on the other hand, really laced into the American and Canadian teams, and into the umpires, whom they accused of partiality to the western teams. In the Canadian-Czech match, a Czech player was penalized after he had been knocked down by Canadian sticks. In the Czech-U.S. game a Czech was tossed out for his insolence in letting himself be hit. Over the radios could be heard the audience's whistles and catcalls and shouts of "Ami go home."



Tvorba, Prague
AFTER THE BATTLE

There was disgust over the way the Canadians, clearly a superior team, stalled in their game with the Americans, so that the U.S. could get a tie and crowd the Swedes out for second place in the final standing. Topping it all was the Olympic tradition that a nation waging war must cease while engaging in the athletic contests. So the U.S. not only wages war in Korea but clouts people on the ice at Oslo. Eleanor Wheeler

How about the farmer?

NORTH HAVEN, CONN.

We just read what the Progressive Party had to say at its recent national conference and liked it very much. But didn't anyone mention the agricultural workers and the farmers?

Even the State Dept. says it's in favor of land reform and even Harry Truman is remembering "price supports," now that an election is coming up again, but the Progressive Party seems to be making the same mistake that Wallace made in '48 when he never made a major speech in which he discussed farm matters, and the same mistake that the American Labor Party has made for so many years.

How about a farm program — a program that farmers from the grassroots are invited to draw up — NOW? Louis A. Sonazzaro

The new Dixiecrats

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

The things that don't happen sometimes tell us more than things that do. What has happened to the Dixiecrat revolt within the Democratic party? The Southern Governors' Conference at Hot Springs, Ark., some weeks ago, predicted by many southern editorial writers to be the beginning of the states rights campaign of 1952, was nothing of the sort. After a tongue-lashing by House Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.), the revolt broke down amid public confessions of Dixiecrat disorganization.

To a southerner who recently witnessed the 1952 Democratic primaries in Louisiana, the reason for the Hot Springs failure is obvious: Dixiecrats as such are no longer "needed" in the south. The truth is that all serious and practicing politicians in the south today are Dixiecrats of one shade or another —and what's more, they are respectable. This is something the old-line native southern fascists failed to achieve in 1948.

These new Dixiecrats have allied themselves with the recent middle class brought forth in the south as the managerial, professional and technical employees of Yankee industry, and with local businessmen whose enterprises and investments depend directly upon eastern capital. They are intelligent, shrewd and capable

The new Dixiecrats are convinced that their brand of American fascism and the military and economic imperialism of the monied northern Democrats can reach a satisfactory understanding at the Democratic convention in June. They are determined to regain control of party machinery and policy which they lost in 1932. They are not particularly desirous of winning the election in 1952 and are perfectly willing to see the Presidency go to Eisenhower or Taft if, in the collapse of the present administration, they can run a hand-picked candidate like Sen. Russell, Sen. George, or Chief Justice Vinson, who will hold the party together and commit it openly to the principles of the new respectable fascism as practiced in the south.

Benjamin E. Smith

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REPORT TO READERS

We — and victory — need your helping hand now

A COUPLE of weeks ago we let the word slip out here that we're heading for one of our seasonal financial pickles. Quite frankly—in this very week when we announce the candidates who will probably carry the Progressive banner in our climactic fight for peace from now to November—we have one foot already well in the pickle jar. To put it mildly, this is an uncomfortable sensation when we survey the state of our nation and the formidable tasks history has dumped in our pickled lap—because, whether any of us likes it or not, there is just about nobody else to tackle them.

Here at home, with "free American enterprise" running wild in the form of unbridled corruption in government, the two children of those brave progressives Ethel and Julius Rosenberg will be orphans by year's end unless continuous dissemination of the truth stimulates nation-wide protest. Because we realize the average American's reluctance to accept the only alternative to their guilt—that our own government is in the business of deliberately framing liberals and progressives—we begin this week, with fresh revelations in the Alger Hiss case (see p. 3), to spell out the frame-up pattern we believe exists. Next week the fantastic story of how the frame-up has operated throughout two decades in the case of Harry Bridges, one of America's few honest labor leaders, will be told.

While the Appeals Court has confirmed the legality of the extreme penalty for progressives needed as victims for Washington's cold-war propaganda, the Supreme Court has confirmed political persecution by enforced starvation—by upholding the Feinberg Law for firing nonconformist teachers, who have no grievance, the Court says: they can "go elsewhere" to earn a living.

ABROAD, as the Washington-enforced revival of a Nazi-led Wehrmacht gets well under way, the highest Chinese authorities have with sober and detailed documentation charged the Pentagon with using bacteriological warfare. We can neither confirm nor deny this frightful charge, but we cannot share the view that it is beyond belief. The evidence permits no such simple faith; especially in a week when the Pentagon has not tried to deny the genuineness of excerpts from the diary of Maj. Gen. Grow, former U.S. military attache to Moscow (i.e., top U.S. intelligence operative in the field) who already in 1951 was writing:

> We must start by hitting below the belt. . . . We must understand that this war is total and is fought with all weapons.

AND yet a typical GUARDIAN reader in California can write:

> . . . Our world is closer to Brotherhood than ever in its history. I'm one of those who does not hold that "it's the nature of man" to do what's he's done so far. Too bad, though, if we have to lose our sons before we wake up.

What is it that makes the GUARDIAN family so certain, amid the putrefaction of all they have held most dear as Americans, that Brotherhood is right over the hill? Not only that they know there is a third alternative to corrupt war-spending or the peace-depression Wall St. fears—constructive peace-spending. But that they will, because they must, work for it day by day—for they know that no matter how many may be sterilized into silence by Washington's campaign of hysteria and fear, there is still "nothing so powerful as an idea whose time has come."

But the power of an idea is not of itself sufficient to guarantee fulfillment. As one who should know has said:

"Victory must be dragged by the hand."

As an outfit which has put everything it's got into this process, we most surely want to be in on it when victory is finally hauled up to the rostrum.

And for this, the GUARDIAN needs a lot more helping hands than it has been getting. You, for example: what can we count on from you? And can we get it SOON?

THE EDITORS

I: THE ALGER HISS CASE

Is the U. S. government in the frame-up business?

Mrs. Ethel Rosenberg has called her husband and herself, now facing death as "atom spies," "victims of the grossest type of political frame-up known in America."

This is the first of a series of articles intended to show—what citizens are reluctant to accept—that there is a pattern of deliberate government frame-up, where a clear political propaganda motive exists for victimizing liberals and progressives. As the master of anti-democratic propaganda, Dr. Joseph Goebbels, wrote: "Propaganda has only one object—to conquer the masses. Every means that furthers this aim is good; every means that hinders it is bad."

The Alger Hiss trial and conviction served the obvious purpose, at the outset of the cold war, of conquering the mass popularity of President Roosevelt's "One World" foreign policy with which Hiss was associated. Hiss was convicted on the testimony of the confessed spy Whittaker Chambers, finally corroborated by one witness, Edith Murray, produced on the last day of Hiss' second trial; the Rosenbergs on the testimony of confessed spies David and Ruth Greenglass, corroborated by one witness, Max Elitcher, who was produced after Julius Rosenberg's arrest.

NEXT WEEK: THE HARRY BRIDGES CASE.

By William A. Reuben
GUARDIAN special correspondent

WHEN New Dealer Alger Hiss was sentenced to jail for perjury, in effect found guilty of passing State Dept. documents to self-labeled Soviet agent Whittaker Chambers, he said:

". . . In the future the full facts of how Chambers was able to carry out forgery by typewriter will be disclosed. Thank you, sir."

With this sober and gentlemanly statement Hiss charged frame-up—by Chambers. But unlike the Rosenbergs, Hiss had enough wealthy connections to enable an exhaustive search for the truth to be made after he went to jail: a search which must have cost scores of thousands of dollars, involving dozens of lawyers, detectives and specialists, leading all over the U. S. and even to Europe.

Last month the results of the search came out in a 69-page motion by Hiss' attorneys—the imposingly conservative Wall St. firm of Beer, Richards, Lane & Haller—for a new trial on the basis of fresh evidence. The evidence is dynamite and discloses far more than a forgery by Chambers.

THE DUMB-WAITER PAPERS: Hiss' now world-famous typewriter came into the picture when, after Chambers accused him of belonging in the '30's to a secret Communist cell and Hiss sued him for libel, Hiss' attorneys in a pretrial examination asked Chambers to produce any papers he might ever have received from Hiss. Chambers went to his nephew's house in Brooklyn, got from a dumb-waiter shaft an envelope cached there ten years earlier, returned to Baltimore with 47 typed extracts or copies of State Dept. documents.

Hiss told his attorneys to turn the papers over to the Justice Dept. for investigation. This simple act of a citizen's faith in his government got him indicted, found guilty and jailed on two counts of perjury (the statute of limitations barred a prosecution for espionage). The government's case charged him with lying to a federal grand jury when he said he never gave Chambers any documents and never "saw or conversed" with Chambers after Jan. 1, 1937.

The new evidence shatters the government "proof" that these two statements were lies.

"APPARENT CORROBORATION": At the first trial, ending in a hung jury, the FBI's expert Feehan testified the documents had been typed on a Woodstock machine the Hisses once owned—a present from Mrs. Hiss' father. The defense tried to show that the Woodstock left the Hisses' possession before the dates on some of the documents. In the second trial—when hysteria had been further whipped up, with cries in Congress for impeachment of the first trial judge—a new and decisive factor was introduced. On the very last day, one witness was finally produced by the FBI to back up the Chambers' story of long and close relations with the Hisses. She was Edith Murray, who said she had been the Chambers' maid in two homes they occupied and had seen the Hisses in both of them.

What the first jury refused to accept as proven—that the documents were typed on the Hisses' Woodstock—convinced the second jury when buttressed by the maid's story. Says Hiss' attorney Chester T. Lane in his sworn affidavit asking a new trial:

> Any fair reading of the record shows beyond question that Chambers' testimony was riddled with inconsistencies and improbabilities, and it is inconceivable that the jury would have believed it, or convicted on either count, if it had not been for the apparent corroboration furnished by the Baltimore Documents, and by the testimony of Edith Murray supporting the Chamberses' story of social relations between the two families.

WHITTAKER CHAMBERS
The finger

The typewriter

The first result of the Hiss attorneys' search is proof that a typewriter expert can construct a machine

> . . . whose product would so nearly match the product of another typewriter . . . that a document expert comparing typed samples from the two machines would be led to believe they had all been typed on the same machine.

The proof of this is that it was done. The new-trial motion contains the affidavit of an expert who made a machine meeting this test. Samples of its product were sent to the Boston Police Dept.'s document expert for comparison with letters typed by the Hisses on the Woodstock when it was in their possession. The expert's conclusion:

> . . . Any document examiner not forewarned (as anyone now examining these samples must necessarily be) that a deliberate attempt at duplication of machines had been made, would be deceived into thinking that all the samples were made on a single machine. In particular, the success of the experiment shows that any such testimony as that given by the Government's expert, Mr. Feehan, at the second trial . . . is absolutely worthless.

Another expert found that

> . . . any document expert, who applied those same criteria [as those of the government expert, Feehan], would reach the conclusion that a single machine had been used to type all of them.

The new-trial motion goes on to offer evidence, from the records of R. C. Allen Business Machines Inc., that Woodstock typewriter serial number 230,099 "was manufactured during the latter part of July or in August, 1929." Further evidence, based on specimens of letters sent from Mrs. Hiss' father's insurance office, shows that the Woodstock which actually was given by him to the Hisses was already in use by July 8, 1929.

The maid

Regarding the last-minute evidence of the maid produced by the FBI, Edith Murray, that she worked for the Chambers' at two Baltimore addresses and saw the Hisses there, affidavits in the new-trial motion are still more startling. One, from a man whose family owned the property at the first address, states:

> I am absolutely positive that Chambers and his family did not live at 903 St. Paul St. at any time between 1932 and 1938. I am absolutely positive that no colored maid, or any maid, for that matter, was employed there during that period by any of the people who were tenants during that time. . . .

An affidavit from the custodian of the building next door to the second address, 1617 Eutaw Place—where he recalled the Chambers' to have been living under the name of Cantwell—states:

> I know from my own observation that Chambers, or Cantwell, never employed a colored maid. . . . It would have been so unusual for anyone to have a maid in that house that everybody in the neighborhood would have known about it and spoken about it. . . .

Finally the Hiss attorneys have submitted a host of documents from the Oxford University Press proving that—at the very latest by March 18, 1938—Chambers had quit the Communist Party and was working as a translator. These flatly contradict his testimony that, while still in a "Communist espionage apparatus," he received documents from Hiss dated as late as April 1, 1938.

The FBI

Attorney Lane does not submit that the evidence he has been able to get "conclusively demonstrates that a fabricated typewriter was used to forge the Baltimore documents." But he devotes the bulk of his argumentation to showing how the FBI continually dogged and thwarted his investigation of the "forgery by typewriter" he believes took place. In suitably decorous language he thus sums up what is in effect a charge that the government has something to hide and is desperately trying to keep it hidden:

> The Government has interested itself in, and has since before the second trial had information about, another machine, bearing a different serial number. . . . Significantly, my investigation of the authenticity of No. 230,099 is the only phase of my investigating activity which to my knowledge has invoked Government surveillance.
>
> . . . We search for records—the FBI has them. We ask questions—the FBI will not let people talk to us. . . . Honorable and patriotic citizens who have wanted to help have been deterred by the appearance—whether or not it is reality—of official surveillance and wiretapping. . . .

J. EDGAR HOOVER
The law

ALGER HISS
The victim

The only "Alger Hiss Woodstock" the public knows about is the one exhibited at the trials—introduced by the defense. That this machine was a "planted" forgery, and that the FBI has had another Woodstock in its possession since before the first trial, is the logical conclusion from the whole account of the defense search. The manager of the Woodstock factory in Illinois told a defense investigator, before he clammed up when the reason for the inquiry became known, that his firm "had helped the FBI find the typewriter in the Hiss case." But vital affidavits from persons able to solve the mystery could not be obtained; interviews were denied, admittedly for fear of repercussions from the FBI; information given was recanted or denied; in Philadelphia the FBI impounded sales records that would prove the date of sale of Woodstock No. 230,099. Hiss investigators were shadowed everywhere by the FBI, and every single person making the search or able to aid it was harassed and intimidated.

DAMNING EVIDENCE: Most curious of all was the FBI's flat refusal to accept the defense invitation to inspect the Woodstock "found" and offered in evidence by the defense—"found" in Washington almost at once by an unaided, untrained investigating defense lawyer after 35 FBI agents (according to the agent in charge of the purported FBI search for it) had "shaken down the city of Washington to a fare-thee-well" without locating it.

All these factors have clearly left little, if any, doubt in the mind of Hiss' polite attorney that the Justice Dept. knew before the first trial that Chambers' documents were forgeries. As for Chambers' story, it will be recalled that before the court actions began, and before he produced the State Dept. papers allegedly typed on Hiss' machine as late as April, 1938, Chambers had:

- On 16 previous occasions given information to officials, committees or juries without mentioning documents or espionage;
- On 7 occasions sworn he quit the Communist Party in 1937;
- Told the Un-American Activities Committee, when asked if he had evidence that Hiss was a CP member, that he had "nothing except that he accepted party discipline."

"WHOLESALE BLACKMAIL": Summing up the meaning of the Hiss trial, Alistair Cooke in **A Generation on Trial** wrote:

> It gave the FBI an unparalleled power of inquiry into private lives that in the hands of a less scrupulous man than its present chief could open up for generation of mischief could open up for generations of mis- blackmail. . . .

How scrupulous is the present chief, J. Edgar Hoover, who in Hearst's American Weekly called the Hiss conviction "one of the finest examples of FBI investigative procedure?"

Diary bolsters germ war charge

(Continued from Page 1)

out equivocation: Communism must be destroyed! . . . Anything, truth or falsehood, to poison the thoughts of the population.

Mar. 27: Threw a minor bombshell by reading our paper which definitely estimated action this year or before July, 1952, by all forms of warfare, including Europe. It was backed by capabilities and reasons. Amb. [ex-Ambassador Kirk, now head of Amer. Comm. for Liberation of Peoples of Russia] accepted our paper as sound and worthy of serious consideration. . . . War as soon as possible!' Now!

RED-FACED WASHINGTON: It was after these and other excerpts came to light in January that Grow was recalled to a Pentagon desk job and the Soviet government (Jan. 15) set new curbs on foreign diplomats' movements. This action brought from Washington denunciations and a call to U. S. diplomats in East Europe to confer in Paris on future functions, if any, of "U. S. diplomatic missions behind the Iron Curtain." Held last week, the conference (the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** reported Mar. 3 "none of the diplomats has been able to report much encouraging news about events in the satellite nations") was followed by a U. S. decision seconded by seven NATO countries to put strict travel curbs on Soviet representatives.

The Washington **Post,** which broke the Grow story, called the incident "extremely damaging," castigated Grow's "monumental ineptitude" and "schoolgirl dere diary" naivete. Red-faced, the Pentagon ordered its attaches to stop recording their activities or ideas.

"Below the belt" in Korea?

In one entry Grow wrote: "We must start by hitting below the belt; this war cannot be conducted by Marquis of Queensberry rules"—a reflection of many similar statements by John Foster Dulles, Pentagon spokesmen, etc. Last week the U. S.—which dropped the atom bomb on a beaten Japan, and has standardized in Korea the burning alive of civilians with jellied gasoline—stood accused of another infraction of "civilized warfare" rules when China and North Korea charged it with waging large-scale bacteriological war in China as well as Korea. (North Korea protested to UN in May, 1951, against alleged use of germ war, declaring the U. S. had started a smallpox epidemic.)

Almost ignored in the U. S., the charges produced a furore in Asia. Throughout China, medical workers volunteered by thousands for "anti-plague" teams to go to Korea. China's Women's Fedn. and teachers called on the women and teachers of the world to take action to halt the use of germs. The Chinese press was filled with such protests from people's organizations as: "The gallows await these users of bacteriological weapons."

Poland's biologists demanded that world biologists act, recalling that the 1947 Intl. Conference of Microbiologists in Copenhagen, attended by U. S. scientists, resolved it

. . . considers such methods as absolutely unworthy of any civilized community and trusts that all microbiologists throughout the world will do everything in their power to prevent their exploitation.

IMAGINARY SPIDERS? Foreign Minister Chou En-lai formally accused the U. S. of waging germ war, demanded punishment of pilots involved. The Peking radio said 448 U. S. planes made 68 raids over Manchuria, Feb. 29-March 8, dropping canisters of infected flies, spiders and animals at Antung, Kuantien, Unchien, and Fushun in Liaotung Province. Earlier, London **Daily Worker** correspondent Alan Winnington had detailed North Korean locations where infected insects were dropped. Medical investigation teams, he wrote,

. . . found the ground where the containers fell infested with large amber-colored spiders and black flies with small heads and long, narrow wings which were found to be germ-laden.

Secy. Acheson, in a Voice of America

broadcast throughout the world, called the charges "entirely false" and "nonsense," and said UN "would welcome an impartial investigation by an international agency such as the Intl. Committee of the Intl. Red Cross." Senior delegate of the Intl. Red Cross in Tokyo and Korea is Dr. Otto Lehner, who made "impartial investigations" of Hitler's concentration camps during World War II and gave them a clean bill of health.

FORGOTTEN HISTORY: The U. S. press echoed Acheson's derisive denials but none found space to recall these published facts:

- In 1942 the U. S. organized BW (bacteriological warfare) research under the super-secret War Research Service at Camp Dietrick, Md., with subsidiary plants in Indiana, Mississippi, Utah, and employed 4,000. Researchers hunting defense against BW found "it was necessary to explore the offensive potentialities of biological agents" (Gerald Piel, Life, Nov. 18, 1946). The Navy's Medical Research Unit No. 1 at the University of California also worked on BW, including "a certain infectious disease . . . of which identity must still be withheld [but which is] centuries old and one of the greatest killers." Piel said this description "fits plague better than any other."
- In Jan., 1946, George W. Merck, War Dept. consultant on BW, submitted a report on BW—never made public. Published excerpts from his letter of submittal hinted darkly at its terrible potentialities and "indicate clearly that the war of disease is practicable" (Hanson Baldwin, N. Y. Times, July 14, 1946). Baldwin reported (Sept. 27, 1946) that work on BW was continuing. U. S. scientists at the 1947 Intl. Conference in Copenhagen "criticized the policy of the U. S. Government in withholding all information about developments for bacteriological war. . . ." (N. Y. Times, July 27, 1947). Some scientists, the Times said, believed "elimination of the secrecy" would help combat use of BW. PM (Sept. 15, 1947) reported BW tests continuing, said Dec. 1: "A mantle of secrecy surpassing that surrounding the atomic bomb has been thrown about the subject of bacteriological warfare by the commands of the Armed Forces." Only report the War Dept. allowed to be published was written in 1942 before U. S. researches began, and published in May, 1947.
- April 8, 1947, President Truman withdrew from the Senate the 1925 Geneva protocol banning germ war which the U. S. signed but never ratified. 39 nations including the U. S. S. R. had ratified it by 1935 and it had gone into effect in 1928. Throughout all the post-war years, "leaks" by Congressmen and others resulted in hundreds of scare stories about poisons and germs that would wipe out whole cities and even nations.
- All efforts by world (including U.S.) scientists to get UN action on BW control were frustrated by the U. S. stand against any control of mass-destruction weapons.
- Nazi Gen. Walter Schreiber, brought to the U. S. to work in its "Global Preventive Medicine" Dept. by the Air Force in mid-1951, was head of Hitler's BW department. (Schreiber was ousted last month following popular protest.)
- In Jan., 1952, Gen. Bradley told the Senate Armed Services Committee: "We have a definite military plan under which we will endeavor to bring the fighting to an end. . . . If we use this plan, it will be as spectacular as anything that has happened in the Korean War so far."
- Early this year Washington reports told of "secret weapons" and plans to end the Korean War. Frederick Kuh, Chicago Sun-Times (Feb. 2), wrote that "high places in Washington . . . contemplate a set of actions that should make existence harder for Communist China. . . . All these projects and some more secret ones for increasing Communist China's insecurity have powerful backing in the Administration and Congress."
- Charges of U. S. use of germ war came when U. S. plans to extend the war by bombing and blockading China had run into strong resistance by U. S. allies. Newsweek (Mar. 10) said the U. S. could defy its allies only if "the entire basis of American policy is changed." (Germ war could be initiated secretly, without Allied consent.)

Europe — foundations shake

ON the other side of the world, the U. S. was also having trouble with its allies—"in the face of the dissension inside the democracies" (David Lawrence, Mar. 7). In Britain, Labour rebel Aneurin Bevan and 54 Labour MP's directly challenged Attlee's leadership. They defied party discipline in refusing to support an Attlee motion criticizing Churchill's competence to carry out rearmament, and in voting against a Tory motion endorsing rearmament, while the rest of the party sat on its hands. Attlee, rejecting Bevan's demand for an emergency party convention, called an emergency meeting of the national executive and Labour MP's from whom (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** Mar. 7) he would demand support for an ultimatum to the 55 rebels that they accept discipline or face expulsion. Bevan, sensing his growing strength in the rank and file, said he would resign from the party rather than submit.

In France Antoine Pinay, obscure ex-minister, suceeded with the help of 27 de Gaullist deputies in forming a government, without the Socialists—the most rightist since the Liberation. Its program was scarcely distinguishable from that of de Gaulle who said last week he supported German rearmament and NATO. Few gave the new government more than a brief life.

"TORNADO" IN GERMANY: The political structure of Western Europe was already shaking under the impact of the upsurge of opposition to rearmament led by trade unions in West Germany. Although its leadership is committed to rearming, the 6,000,000-strong trade union federation unleashed "a tornado of indignation" **(Tribune des Nations,** Paris) last month when a leader issued a statement endorsing rearmament. Local trade union offices were besieged by delegations, phone calls, the threat of mass strikes. In Bavaria, unions representing some 900,000 called an emergency meeting, demanded presence of the top leadership, jeered explanations of their position, unanimously opposed rearmament in any form, demanded "suitable action" to halt it.

The Bavarian resolution spread throughout the country, being passed by Hamburg unionists, metal workers in Wuerttemberg, workers in Essen, Mannheim, Duesseldorf, Nuremberg and other major cities. Many meetings demanded the ousting of federation president Fette. Hamburg dock workers walked off a British munitions ship; 12,000 unemployed dockers also refused to unload the ship. Meetings in Wilhelmshafen and pamphlets distributed in Bremerhafen demanded ouster of Adenauer.

"Adenauer stands alone — all stand against him!" says this poster appearing all over West Germany.

PEACE MARCHES ON: In the Bonn parliament a few Social Democratic deputies were already taking an outright stand against rearmament, in contrast to the party's leadership whose opposition is strictly geared to winning more concessions from Washington; the leaders, wrote the London **Observer's** Richard Lowenthal, "are in danger of losing control of the popular movement." Some officials demanded a special party congress to define its stand. **AP reported** (Mar. 1):

Labor's decision jabs at Adenauer's three-party coalition, already somewhat wobbly in support of rearmament. The left wing of Adenauer's own Christian Democratic Union represents labor interests. Several CDU parliamentary deputies are labor leaders. The revolt of labor probably will be reflected also among the Free Democrats, the second coalition party. Allied officials said the Chancellor has counted on labor support as a keystone of his defense program. . . . One leading Allied official said flatly: "Nobody in Germany wants to rearm except the old professional militarists."

Gustav Heinemann, former Interior Minister, whose Emergency Committee to Save the Peace of Europe is circulating a petition demand for rejection of rearmament which Germans are flocking to sign, told the N. Y. **Times** (Mar. 4):

"The protest of the German population against remilitarization proves that the State of Bonn is shaken to its foundations."

In Washington the foundations of the plan for a coalition against the socialist world—depending more than ever on German cooperation—looked shakier than at any time since the cold war was blueprinted.

PEACE

The Americas rally for peace in Uruguay

ALL over the world preparations were actively going ahead for spring conferences on how to get peace and problems raised by the threat of war:

In Montevideo, Uruguay, the Inter-Continental American Peace Conference was to get under way this week rallying peacemakers from 24 American nations. The conference had been banned in Brazil. Preparations for it throughout the Americas were buried in a U. S. news black-out. (GUARDIAN will carry full on-the-spot coverage.)

- In 38 countries from Albania to West Africa, sponsoring committees had been set up for the INTL. CONFERENCE IN DEFENSE OF CHILDREN in Vienna, April 12-16. An American committee of educators, (Room 401, 111 W. 42d St., N. Y. C. 36), including Columbia U. education prof. Goodwin Watson, University Women's League pres. Mrs. Helen McAllister of Kansas City, Harlem Education Council chairman Mrs. Agnes Doe and Cincinnati U. pediatrics prof. Katherine Dodd called on "all organizations interested in the problems of children" to participate "to save the most precious wealth of mankind."
- American Women for Peace (257 7th Av., N. Y. C. 1), invited women "from cities, towns and countryside" to take part in an all-day conference in New York Mar. 22 "to safeguard our children and homes" from inadequate food and housing, race discrimination and UMT.
- In regional conferences from the Pakistan border to Morocco, delegates were being chosen for a forthcoming MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICAN PEACE CONFERENCE, whose many prominent backers include Maarouf Dawalibi, recently deposed Premier of Syria.
- May 29-31 was set as the date for the INTL. MEDICAL CONFERENCE in Italy to study war's repercussions on health and medical cultural relations; 1,200 of the world's leading medical authorities were expected to participate.

APRIL IN WASHINGTON: At a Natl. Delegates Assembly for Peace in Washington April 1, organized by the American Peace Crusade (preparations committee: 125 W. 72nd St., N. Y. C. 23), the first tally of U. S. totals on the five-power peace pact petition drive was to be reported. Groups participating in the nation-wide signature drive, for which hundreds of volunteers all across the U. S. are ringing doorbells and buttonholing friends, neighbors and strangers, were urged to name delegates according to Congressional districts and to seek appointments now with their Congressmen for a day of lobbying. An addition to trade union leaders backing the five-power-pact call—originally sponsored by a group of 29 prominent religious, labor and farm leaders—was Ford Local 600 (UAW) pres. Carl Stellato, who formerly supported UN actions in Korea.

Demands to their government representatives for a halt to rearming and re-nazification of Germany went out from sponsors of the Natl. Delegates Assembly for Peace, from the Canadian Peace Congress, and from rallies in many countries marking Intl. Women's Day (Mar. 9). At the London rally 1,500 British women cheered Mrs. Monica Felton, former govt. official fired after she reported on atrocities in Korea, who said:

"There is not one difference between the peoples of the world that could not be solved around a table."

THE LAW

Supreme Court OK's school witch-hunt

THE U. S. SUPREME COURT last week in effect upheld witch-hunts in the schools, religious training in the schools and the right of a municipality to keep its recreation areas lily-white.

Most far-reaching was the 6-3 opinion upholding N. Y. State's Feinberg Law. Enacted in 1949, the law empowers the Board of Regents to list proscribed organizations and fire all teachers who belong to these groups, or who otherwise may be deemed "subversive." It sets up a system of checking thoughts, actions, associations outside the classroom calculated to force a teacher into conformity in or out of school.

For the majority Justice Sherman Minton argued:

> "They [teachers] may work for the school system upon the reasonable terms laid down by the proper authorities of New York. If they do not choose to work on such terms, they are at liberty to retain their beliefs and associations and go elsewhere. Has the state thus deprived them of any right to free speech or assembly? We think not."

The "limitation" of the Feinberg Law, the majority ruled,

> "is not one the state may not make in the exercise of its police power to protect the schools from pollution and thereby to defend its own existence."

F. D. R.'s LEGACY: The three dissents came from Roosevelt appointees. Another Roosevelt appointee, Justice Jackson, went along with the majority. Justice Douglas said:

> "The present law proceeds on a principle repugnant to our society—guilt by association. . . . The law inevitably turns the school system into a spying project. Regular loyalty reports on the teachers must be made out. The principals become detectives; the students, the parents, the community become informers. . . . What was the significance of the reference of the art teacher to socialism? Why was the history teacher so openly hostile to Franco Spain?

JUSTICE DOUGLAS
In the pursuit of truth

> Who heard overtones of revolution in the English teacher's discussion of the 'Grapes of Wrath'? What was behind the praise of Soviet progress in metallurgy in the chemistry class? Was it not 'subversive' for the teacher to cast doubt on the wisdom of the venture in Korea?
>
> "What happens under this law is typical of what happens in a police state. . . . This I think is what happens when a censor looks over a teacher's shoulder. This system of spying and surveillance with its accompanying reports and trials cannot go hand in hand with academic freedom. It produces standardized thought, not the pursuit of truth. Yet it was the pursuit of truth which the First Amendment was designed to protect.
>
> "Of course the school systems of the country need not become cells for Communist activities; and the classrooms need not be forums for propagandizing the Marxist creed. But the guilt of the teacher should turn on overt acts. So long as she is a law-abiding citizen, so long as her performance within the public school system meets professional standards, her private life, her political philosophy, her social creed should not be the cause of reprisals against her."

MULTIPLICATION: Justice Black added:

> "This is another of those rapidly multiplying legislative enactments which make it dangerous—this time for school teachers—to think or say anything except what a transient majority happen to approve at the moment."

Justice Frankfurter argued that the law was still "an unfinished blueprint," that its terms ("treasonable," "seditious," "overthrow by any unlawful means") are too vague, that the complainants (nine teachers and parents) do not indicate a specific injury they suffer from the act.

At Albany the news spurred N. Y. State Sen. Wm. F. Condon (R) to press for a vote on his bill removing tax exemptions from all organizations the Board of Regents lists as subversive. (The Assembly has already passed a similar bill.) Other witch-hunt bills pending at Albany were likely to be pushed. But Sen. Wm. J. Bianchi (R-ALP) has a bill in the hopper to repeal the Feinberg Law, announced he would fight against the Condon bill.

The Regents, meanwhile, were undecided as to how to draw up their taboo list. Last year the FBI refused to give the Regents any evidence of the "subversive" nature of the 100 organizations on the Attorney General's list. If they use such a list without evidence the Regents may face law suits by the listed organizations or have to make their own inquiries. This would require a large and controversial appropriation. One of the Regents called the prospect "ghastly." They meet Mar. 27 for a decision.

BIBLE READING UPHELD: The Court also let stand a New Jersey law requiring the daily reading in public schools of five verses from the Old Testament and permitting recitation of the Lord's Prayer. Justices Douglas, Reed and Burton dissented. The court postponed a decision on "released time" in New York City schools, under which children are released from school an hour a week for outside religious training.

LILY-WHITE GREENS: The Miami Springs Country Club golf course, owned by the city of Miami, Fla., is open to Negroes on Mondays only; whites use it the rest of the week. The court refused to review a Florida Supreme Court decision upholding the segregation practice. Justices Douglas and Black dissented.

Patterson on trial again in capitol

WHEN William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, presented a petition to the UN in Paris charging the U. S. government with practicing genocide against its Negro citizens, he set off a world-wide discussion and stirred a controversy in this country that is still raging. Last month the UN officially acknowledged receipt of the petition, announced a summary of its contents will be submitted to the next meeting of the Commission on Human Rights. While Patterson was in Europe, the government vainly tried to take up his passport; on his return it was seized. Next Monday, for a second time, Patterson will go on trial in Washington on a contempt of Congress charge.

In August, 1950, Patterson refused a demand of the House Lobbying Committee that he submit to it the list of contributors and other CRC records. During the hearing Rep. Henderson Lanham (D-Ga.) called him a "God damned black son of a bitch" and tried to assault him physically; Lanham has never been reprimanded.

THE U. S. INSISTS: In April, 1951, a mixed jury in Washington failed to convict Patterson. Judge Alexander Holtzoff declared a mistrial, recommended that the government drop the indictment against Patterson, but it insisted on a new trial. Patterson faces a possible two-year sentence if convicted.

(Joseph Kamp, vice-chairman of the fascist-like Constitutional Education League, was acquitted on an identical charge for refusing to give the same committee his organization's records.)

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Committee To Secure Justice In The Rosenberg Case

246 Fifth Avenue
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MUrray Hill 5-2144

March 12, 1952

Dear Friend:

The Appeals Court affirmation of the verdict and sentences in the Rosenberg Case is one of the most shocking judicial acts in our country's history.

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Very truly yours,
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"PEACE WILL WIN!" film of Intl. Peace Congress, Warsaw, Poland, will be shown at home of Robert Phillips, 71 Perry St., Sat., Mar. 15, at 8:30 p.m. Auspices: ALP, 28 Greenwich Av. Contribution $1. Refreshments.

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Guard. C

People's voice buries UMT in House

FOR four years Harry S. Truman and his generals have sought a compulsory conscription law; for four years labor, farm, church and civic organizations have fought it. With the general cold war and the Korean hot war to exploit this year, the Pentagon made its supreme effort. But last week, 236 to 162, the House voted down the Administration's bill to take all men at 18 for six months' military training followed by 7½ years in the reserves.

It was the first major jolt for Truman's war program—but the defeat of UMT was not clear-cut: the final vote was to send the measure back to the House Armed Services Committee for "further study." Committee chairman Carl Vinson (D-Ga.) said he would not ask reconsideration during this session (Congressmen want to be free for campaigning before their party conventions in July). The N.Y. Times, calling the House defeat "a heavy blow," hoped Vinson might change his mind if the Senate passed a UMT bill reported out of its own Armed Services Committee and so "renewed the courage of UMT proponents in the House." But Senate backers of the measure wavered and announced Thursday they would not press for floor action. Senate Armed Services Comm. chairman Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.), who had said failure to adopt UMT now would be "little short of a national tragedy," said the committee had decided to leave it on the calendar in the hope of "a more favorable climate" developing. Said Vinson:

"Eventually we will have UMT. We will try again to put it over next year."

BIG GUNS MISFIRE: During the House voting Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.) made one of his rare speeches: in effect, a demand that Democrats back the Administration military program. To a great extent they did: 131 voted for UMT, only 81 opposed it. On the Republican side, 155 voted to shelve the bill; only 30 were for it. (The other "for" vote: Fraizier Reams, Ohio independent.)

For the crucial test the biggest guns were rolled up. A cablegram from Gen. Eisenhower urging UMT passage was read. A full-page ad in the Washington Post quoted UMT's most prominent backers. The N.Y. Times called UMT the "system that this country so desperately needs." Vinson warned that war could come "in a matter of hours." But Rep. Ruth Thompson (R-Mich.) reported her mail was 50 to 1 against UMT; it was back-home opposition that won the day.

Voting was delayed for a day—to allow time, opponents said, for the American Legion to "put the heat on" undecided Congressmen.

How New China "stamped out family life"

Describing her missionary work among the children of China, . . . Miss Gladys Aylward spoke of the way she bought a baby girl from its poverty-stricken mother for ninepence. That was the beginning of the children's home she established in China.

Under the Communist regime today, she said, family life, religious teaching and freedom of thought were all being stamped out and replaced by the Communist doctrine.

—Croydon Avertiser (England)

(The ancient Chinese freedom to sell children for ninepence or any other sum, for children's homes or prostitution or any other purpose, is among freedoms suppressed by New China.—Ed.)

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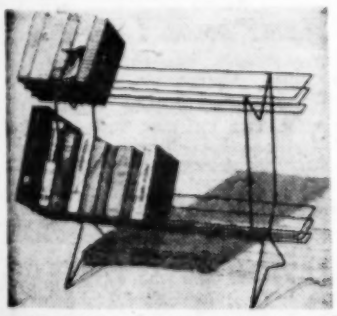

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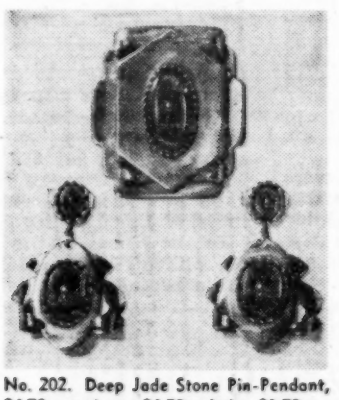

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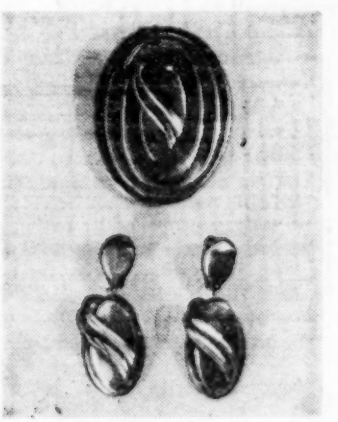

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WHY NEHRU LOST A POPULAR MAJORITY

What the Indian elections mean

By Kumar Goshal

THE results of the first popular elections in India—the country with the world's second largest population, on which Washington most bases its hopes of defeating colonial liberation movements—are finally in. The way the 60-odd percent of the 176 million eligible electorate voted has surprised some, shocked others.

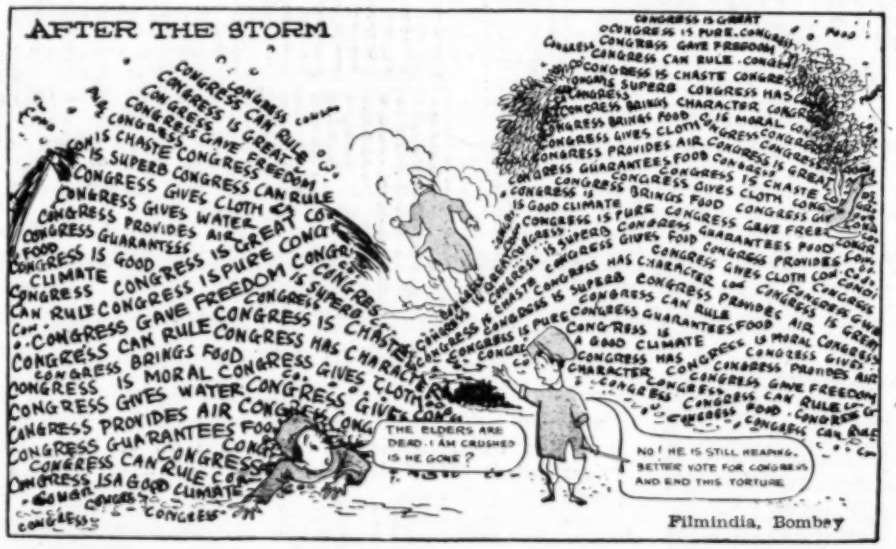
Prime Minister Nehru's Congress Party ran candidates for most of the 3,373 seats in the 22 state assemblies and three state electoral colleges, and for all 496 seats in the House of the People (lower house of the central government). As the party in power, able to exert formidable pressures and utilize Nehru's personal prestige (he traveled 18,056 miles by Indian Air Force plane campaigning for its candidates in every state), Congress was expected to get at least 70% of the popular vote.

The Socialist Party, with Nehru's blessing, was expected to run second. The Communist Party, which ran 500 candidates in a limited area with some 200 more included among last-minute candidates put up by a few regional Left coalition parties, was considered a dead duck. It was short of funds and declared illegal or at best semi-legal throughout India. Many of its leaders were in jail or underground with warrants out for their arrest on sight. It had undergone two severe internal crises since the war. The N. Y. **Herald Tribune** reported from New Delhi:

> Competent observers here feel [it] will be lucky if it wins two seats of the 500 it is contesting.

BALL WAS CLOUDED: The observers were incompetent. The Congress Party —with only 45% of the total popular vote—got a majority of seats in the House of the People and most state assemblies. The Socialists, who rejected all offers of Left unity, won less than 10% of seats contested and lost 60-70% of their deposits (candidates deposited $200, lost it if a third of the winner's votes were not polled). Extreme right-wing candidates and those stressing religious prejudice made a poor showing. Most pro-West candidates, like former Law Minister Dr. Ambedkar, were defeated. The Communists emerged as the second strongest party in India.

CP candidates like railway workers' representative K. A. Nambiar defeated high Congress Party government officials like Railway Minister K. Santanam. Jailed and undergroud CP candidates like P. T. Punnose and P. Bhaskaran Nair won by big majorities. CP leader A. K. Gopalan, against whom Nehru personally campaigned on the scene, won by an 87,029 majority. CP leader Ravi Narayan Reddy of Telengana in Hyderabad outpolled all other individual candidates including Nehru.


AFTER THE STORM
THE ELDERS ARE DEAD: I AM CRUSHED! IS HE GONE?
NO! HE IS STILL BREATHING. BETTER VOTE FOR CONGRESS AND END THIS TORTURE
Filmindia, Bombay

In the House of the People Communists have 27 seats, their allies 11; with the expected support of some independents, they should have a bloc of about 45. The Congress Party failed of an absolute majority in the states of Madras, Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin and PEPSU (Patiala and E. Punjab); in the first three of these, comprising with West Bengal (where the CP is also strong) almost a third of India's population, the Communists and associated parties are trying to form coalition governments. In Tripura, a small state, the CP has an absolute majority.

"THOUGHTFUL CHOICES": Some Congress Party leaders admit that the Communists' and allied candidates' impressive vote was not a protest vote against the Nehru government's failures; purely protest votes would have gone to the Socialists or to dissidents who left the Congress Party with former Congress pres. Acharya Kripalani. The N. Y. **Times'** Robert Trumbull found that where they had the opportunity the voters, largely illiterate, "made thoughtful choices at the polls." Nehru's party failed to get a popular majority because his government

- Has shown more consideration for landlords than for oppressed peasants;
- Failed to mobilize India's resources and manpower as the Chinese People's Republic has done;
- Not only let British capital continue to dominate India's economy, but let U. S. monopolies like Standard Vacuum and Caltex exploit India without restrictions, in violation of the Indian Industries Act;
- Condoned incredible corruption in the government and tax evasion by war profiteers, black marketeers and big business in general.

The Communist candidates won because they

- Advocated world peace;
- Opposed foreign control of India's economy, favored nationalization of foreign-owned industries;
- Favored confiscation of landlords' estates and distribution of land to the tiller (and demonstrated this policy in Telengana where in 1948-9 they liberated 4 million peasants from brutal exploitation by the Nizam);
- Opposed U. S. Far Eastern policy;
- Were able to point to the accomplishments of the CP in China.

QUAKER WISDOM: The election showed that given the slightest opportunity an overwhelmingly illiterate population can vote intelligently, democratically and orderly; and that there are people who without any outside pressure—and against strong inside pressure from a reactionary government——vote Communist of their own free will because its program meets their needs, as the Quaker Peace Proposals pointed out some time ago.

If the new Indian government abides by the people's decision, its domestic and foreign policy will henceforth be scrutinized by a strong progressive bloc. For, as the **Times'** Trumbull, wrote:

> In immense contrast to the general run of Congress politicians and officials, the Communists elected to office are for the most part men of outstanding ability, cleverness and popular appeal.

The candid ambassador

Answering questions on rearmament race in the world, the ambassador [U. S. Ambassador to India Chester Bowles] said his country was rearming to avoid an economic collapse. Rearmament was the only escape from the breakdown of American economy based on capitalism.

The Hindu, leading English newspaper in Madras, reporting press conference in Bombay, Feb. 26, 1952.

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